GERMAN SOCIALISTS' ROLE: J. A. DEL VAYO

THE Nation

February 20, 1954

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What Russia Wants

by Konni Zilliacus

That Fulbright Fellow

by Edgar Kemler

"Liberating" the Indian *Dorothy Bohn*

Design for Living *Robert M. Hutchins*

Review of Richard Neutra's "Survival Through Design"

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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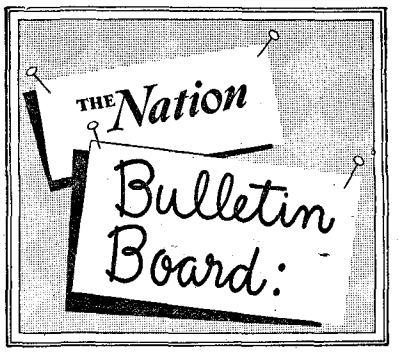

THE OTHER DAY we received a communication from the National Federation of Post Office Clerks which began: "So often have we sent you change-of-address notices for your publication that we have grown to feel a friendly acquaintance with you. . . ."

We appreciate the brotherly feeling—even though we noted that the letter had been addressed to 20 Vesey Street, whence we moved nine months ago.

IT SEEMS THAT Richard Morgan's fine article (Front for Reaction: Americans for America, in *The Nation* of January 23) got under some fairly tough skins. Edward A. Hayes, candidate for the Republican nomination to the United States Senate in Illinois, bitterly assailed the piece. Hayes, who wants to defeat incumbent Paul Douglas, said *The Nation* attacks men "who are pledged to a common cause . . . the American cause. . . . Naturally it attacks me."

Hayes regards Douglas as a "totalitarian liberal," an exponent of "creeping socialism." Back in 1934 he charged that the New Deal was seeking to destroy the Constitution and set up a communistic social. order. In the 1952 Presidential campaign he denounced Stevenson's connection with A. D. A. as an "insult to every American boy who sleeps eternally under a white cross anywhere and particularly in Korea." Hayes complains he was criticized for his adherence to the principles of his organization.

Precisely.

H. H. WILSON, a contributing editor, informs us he is starting a series of speaking engagements early in May. Plans stops in Denver, Long Beach, Los Angeles, and other Western cities. He might still have a free date or two on his calendar, and there are few better speakers on current American problems than the distinguished professor of political science from Princeton.

THERE WERE a houseful of noted civil libertarians in attendance at the second annual conference of the New York chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union February 6. But the man who stole the show, for my money, was the Washington *Post's* great cartoonist, Herblock (Herbert Lawrence Block), whose work has frequently been reprinted in *The Nation.*

Block talked about the "numbers racket" now prevailing in the witch-hunt field. Republicans announce that Truman got a 28-page report on Harry Dexter White; that it contained information from 30 sources; that White was linked with 9 other men. Altogether, that made 67, Block said. What they couldn't produce was just *one* witness who had proof that White was guilty of anything. Block labeled this "guilt by numerology."

He also referred to the figure of "2,200 security risks" which is being loosely tossed around these days. It's a good round figure, he said, "because it's so well padded."

NAOMI MITCHISON, the English liberal writer, told her countrymen recently that while in America she discovered science fiction, "which rather to the surprise of the European highbrow has a kind of socially conscious content with which we would be much in sympathy. . . . Instead of leading wars of extermination against sub-men or planting the flag of monopoly on new planets, the heroes are peace and health-makers, co-operators and promoters of understanding."

This, I hasten to add, is a naked unashamed plug for the current Nation's Choice (see January 30 and February 13 issues) of three fine science-fiction books. Incidentally, the books are selling in fabulous quantities; so we suggest you order them now before the supply runs out.

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Justice at Berkeley?

[*Since January 30, when we published Walter Gerstel's article, The California Plan, together with an editorial entitled Model for a Purge? the Board of Regents of the University of California has refused by a vote of fourteen to six to allow back pay or other financial recompense to professors who refused to sign the Regents' loyalty oath, despite the fact that the California Supreme Court has upheld the professors' position. The following communication on the subject is by a former vice-president and provost of the university.*]

Dear Sirs: Every sensible citizen of the state feels strongly that it is high time the controversy in the University of California arising from the dismissal of a group of professors for failing to sign a contract declared illegal by both the District Court of Appeals and the state Supreme Court were brought to a close. The controversy would have been brought to a just end had the Regents at their last meeting provided recompense for the financial loss incurred by the professors. Instead, they voted to deny it.

How any intelligent person can doubt that restitution should be made is beyond my understanding. The professors were illegally dismissed. Is it right that they should suffer heavy financial loss due only to the improper action of the Regents? The issue is as simple as that.

If Governor Knight desired, as he declared, to bring this controversy, which has lasted four years, to a close, he chose an absurd method to do so. The professors have every right to call upon the courts to see to it that the Regents do their manifest duty.

In fairness it must be noted that six regents justly refused to accept the view that prevailed (Heller, McLaughlin, Merchant, Olson, Sproul, and Steinhart) and that certain regents who were absent would have voted with them had they been able to attend.

The decision of the majority of the board was inconsistent with two previous actions taken by the Regents: (1) The vote on November 20, 1952, to the effect that severance pay be granted to those who had been dismissed and had subsequently resigned from the faculty; the Regents have now completely ignored this action and refused reimbursement to these professors as well as to the others. (2) The instruction issued to President Sproul on November 20, 1952, to secure through appropriate departmental channels statements of the financial losses each professor had incurred as the result of his dismissal. This the President did and presented his report on January 30, 1953, recommending payment. . . .

For the mental suffering of those years no recompense can be made nor is any sought. The financial loss due to this improper discharge is the only thing that can be made up. The stigma on the university throughout the academic world resulting from the unjust and violent attacks made on honorable men cannot be so readily atoned for. . . .

San Francisco MONROE E. DEUTSCH

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

McCarthy's Purpose

The main purpose of Senator McCarthy's junket—financed by the Republican Party—has been to undercut the Eisenhower Administration. It is quite clear that the frothy smears of Democrats were intended as pure entertainment. McCarthy is out to elect a Congress that will oppose President Eisenhower's policy on aid to allies trading with China. Wherever he went, he called on Republicans to ask of every candidate for Congress this one question: "If we send you to Washington, will you continue to vote our money to allies who are using that money to strengthen our mortal enemy, Red China?"

McCarthy wants a Congress that will support him in what promises to be an all-out attack on a program Mr. Dulles has called "the heart of our foreign policy." If McCarthy wins, he will control the Republican Party. Why then does the President permit the party to finance this obvious double-cross? The major reason, we suspect, is this: in desperation, the Administration is using the demagogues of the party to divert attention from its shortcomings. Just which Cabinet members could the President send out to campaign for the party? Charles Wilson? George Humphrey? Sinclair Weeks? The simple truth is that the Administration is cut off from the people. The President, who has the common touch, does not want to campaign and, with the possible exception of Harold Stassen and Vice-President Nixon, his lieutenants have little talent and no enthusiasm whatever for mixing with the people. They never talked to stockholders; why should they talk to voters?

In Lincoln's Shadow

McCarthy's junket was most inadequately reported. Until the Senator arrived in Aberdeen, the wire services had failed to note the consistent attacks on the Eisenhower-Dulles foreign policy which were conspicuous enough to provoke editorial comment in Madison, Wisconsin. And the details of the tour were neglected. In Madison it was quite clear that the Dane County Republican organization has taken its stand with McCarthy and against the President. The meeting was a McCarthy rally, not a Lincoln Day dinner. The decorations over the speakers' platform were exclusively of Joe. Dominating the hall was a huge white banner, trimmed in red, with a portrait of McCarthy in the center and the words, "For America, For Wisconsin, Welcome Senator Joe McCarthy." If the Republicans paid the bill, some oil companies helped to keep it as low as possible. McCarthy came to Madison in a ten-passenger amphibian plane bearing the name of Republic Oil Refining Company which had been arranged for by Walter S. Hallanan, West Virginia G. O. P. national committeeman who is a member of the board of Republic Oil. At Aberdeen a plane owned by the Superior Oil Company of Texas took over. In California, McCarthy was flown from Riverside to San Francisco in a plane owned by William Keck, wealthy independent oil operator and a bitter political opponent of Chief Justice Warren when he was Governor.

The Score at Berlin

Certainly Mr. Molotov did not expect the Western delegates at Berlin to accept his original proposals for a general European treaty or for an Austrian settlement. Both were in effect declarations that Russia is not prepared to yield a single position of power. The general treaty would exclude the United States and take in the two Germanys as equal and separate states. The Austrian treaty would permit occupation forces to remain in the country to prevent a "new Anschluss" pending the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. Neither proposal could conceivably lead to agreement.

As things stood at the start of the week, this looked like a clumsy handling of the cards, for it would seem that the Soviet Foreign Minister could score diplomatic points only by forcing his opponents to reject reasonable-sounding offers. But somehow the West has not profited much from Russia's ill-disguised refusal to relax its hold on its Western outposts. One reason may be that while Messrs. Eden, Bidault, and Dulles have made a number of concessions, they too have hung on to the whole structure of Western military might, including a rearmed Germany. Their firm insistence on free elections as the basis for German unification and on a peace treaty without strings for Austria was well calculated to please the West and stimulate anti-Soviet feeling in the East. But

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Russia's equally determined opposition to a revival of German military power under any guise was a factor on the other side. So, apparently, was Molotov's proposal for a five-power meeting with China, out of which, he implied, might come a settlement of the Indo-Chinese struggle. And so were the multiplying signs that the Communist world is ready and eager to do business on a big scale with the West. Even the Russian idea of a general European security pact, so plainly aimed at demolishing and supplanting NATO, could be taken as notice that Moscow intended no westward expansion by force. For all these reasons the West will emerge from the Berlin talks with something less than a clear-cut victory. Ambiguities remain, and Moscow still has plenty of space for maneuver. The French vote on the E. D. C. pact will provide the first important test of the political consequences of Berlin.

The Accent of Greatness

As we confidently expected, "the great constitutional debate" on the Bricker Amendment turned out to be a dismal performance. Long before it started a large number of Senators who had backed the amendment thinking it was another "cinch" proposition obviously wanted to be taken off the hook. The noise of generally mediocre oratory provided the cover for their escape. Yet the debate did yield one great speech, as one or two columnists duly noted. Marquis Childs spoke of it as "a reasoned and at times a deeply moving argument" and it was promptly spotted by the Hearst press. The speech was that of Senator J. William Fulbright, who is the subject of an article on page 146 of this issue. The Senator denounced the Bricker Amendment for what it is: a violent attack on the Constitution. The same day that he delivered the outstanding speech of the debate, the Senator cast the lone "no" vote on the $214,000 appropriation for McCarthy's subcommittee.

Here is what Senator Fulbright had to say about "the swinish blight of intellectualism" implicit in the Bricker Amendment and McCarthyism:

> When public men indulge themselves in abuse, when they deny others a fair trial, when they resort to innuendo and insinuation, to libel, scandal, and suspicion, then our democratic society is outraged and democracy is baffled. It has no apparatus to deal with the boor, the liar, the lout, and the anti-democrat in general.

After reading this speech and what the Hearst press had to say about it, and then reflecting on Edgar Kemler's article in this issue, it occurs to us that here the Democrats have, in addition to Adlai Stevenson, Senator Estes Kefauver, and Justice Douglas, still another man who could qualify as a Presidential nominee.

Incidentally as far back as April 4, 1953, we published

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an article on the Bricker Amendment by Merlo J. Pusey of the Washington *Post* which stands as one of the best analyses published to date—judging by the extent to which it has been reprinted.

British Trade Headache

Final figures on 1953 trade now appearing in London show that Britain is still having a rough time in world markets. The volume of exports hit a new peak last year, but they were worth less because of a slight reduction in export prices. The over-all picture showed a deficit of exports over imports amounting to nearly $2,000,000,000—a slight improvement compared to the 1952 picture but still serious enough. A significant feature was the rise in exports to the United States and Canada. For the first time they topped the billion-dollar mark. Shipments to the United States totaled nearly a half-billion. In the light of this dollar trade, one can appreciate the concern now being shown in London financial circles over the signs of a business recession in the United States. For most of Britain's exports to America are precisely those luxury items—sports cars, textiles, whiskey, china, biscuits—which are likely to be soonest hit when money gets tight.

German Socialists' Role

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Berlin, February 12

THE SOVIET proposals for a five-power conference to discuss international tensions and for a subsequent world conference on disarmament, the Molotov plan for a collective-security treaty, and the discussions on Austria gave the Berlin deliberations new life in their third week. This time it was Bidault who asked for secret sessions in order to discuss a five-power conference. The gravity of the Indo-China situation plus President Eisenhower's expressed determination to stay out of the conflict have heightened French conviction that solutions other than military must be explored without delay.

Although immediately opposed by the West, Molotov's new plan for an all-Europe security pact was nevertheless described by some Western diplomats as a major Russian political maneuver and one of the "most dangerous" since the war. It was of course designed to make more difficult French ratification of the E. D. C. It was aimed to attract all those countries outside NATO which have been impressed by Molotov's repeated assertion that E. D. C. will lead to war. And it offers even to NATO members, beginning with France, an alternative to German divisions in a European army.

As the debates range the world horizons, they come back again and again to Germany. In view of this it is interesting to explore the repercussions of the conference on the Germans themselves. Molotov and the Western ministers spoke not only to their respective countries. They also spoke to the Germans. There were moments when it seemed that they spoke exclusively to them. The conference will therefore have a deep influence on the politics and domestic controversies of all Germany for a long time. I refer not only to the dispute between West Germany and East Germany, which will be carried on with a new fire and intensity. I am also thinking of the divided opinion in West Germany itself. I have described in a previous article the state of mind of the Bonn delegation, which observed the course of the conference so closely and affected it to a certain extent. As the conference progressed, Herr Blankenhorn—Adenauer's principal representative—was freed of his original worries. To his great satisfaction, the Western ministers, led by Mr. Dulles, presented a united front—at least in appearance—in the final showdown with Mr. Molotov which put an end to any hope of reaching an agreement with Russia on Germany. This was supposed to remove the last obstacles to German rearmament and the ratification of the Bonn and Paris agreements. But Mr. Dulles and Herr Blankenhorn may be too hasty in their conclusions, for ratification by the French Parliament is by no means in the bag, whatever the outcome here.

HOWEVER powerful Blankenhorn's master may be, his is not the only voice at Bonn. Although defeated in the last elections, the Social Democrats still have a large representation in the Bonn Parliament and as the official opposition party exercise a considerable influence. I was therefore very glad that Erich Ollenhauer, chairman of the party, could take time to give me his view of the progress of the conference. He freely discussed his impressions and placed at my disposal ample material to establish the position of the German Socialists, which will vitally affect future German policy.

The position of the Social Democratic Party has been widely misinterpreted. Ollenhauer and his friends do not, in fact, favor either the isolation of a reunited Germany or its indefinite control by the original four occupying powers. But their attitude is both more realistic and more in harmony with the general interests of peace than that of the present federal government. They have rejected repeated offers from Pankow to establish contacts behind the Chancellor's back. They do not believe that the referendum proposed by Mr. Molotov is the right solution, and they insist as forcefully as Adenauer on free elections. But they are energetically opposed to any prefabricated solution that would turn Germany into a hammer for hitting the heads of the Kremlin leaders. They are against Germany's transformation into a "people's republic" and share the repugnance of Socialists everywhere to Communist methods. But they are equally opposed to West Germany's imperiling negotia-

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tions with Russia by joining in a diplomatic *Dictat*.

Thus, as soon as the conference showed its first danger signs, the Socialists intervened with a statement, largely inspired by Ollenhauer himself, of which he gave me the complete text. As to the Molotov plan, they insisted that "reunification must start with free elections and an all-German government issuing from them." On the other hand, their statement implied, in effect, abandonment of E. D. C. "The general debate on the plans for carrying out free elections," they said, "has produced two sharply contrasted proposals [the Molotov and Eden plans]. To avoid the danger of the conference coming to a stop it seems necessary, in the present state of the discussions, that the parties to the negotiations treat the problems of European security and of the creation of a unified Germany through the free election of an all-German Parliament as a single whole."

When the Socialists oppose Adenauer's policy on E. D. C. and his demand that the whole of East Germany, now consisting of five *Länder*, be treated as a single *Land* in the plan for future reunification, they follow their principles but also fight to save their own skins. They see in this a new trick of the shrewd Chancellor to maintain himself in power indefinitely. An *Anschluss* of East Germany to the federal republic under this scheme would insure Adenauer a majority in the *Bundestag* and the *Bundesrat* to the end of his days, keeping the Socialists out of office and condemning them to the role of an eternal and sterile opposition.

The position taken by the Socialists these days should be kept in mind. The Berlin conference will continue to project its results, positive and negative, into the whole German problem and the future relations between West and East. It is therefore very important to realize that there are forces in Germany, not confined to Communists and extreme pacifists, working for an agreement with Moscow. The largest and most powerful group is the Socialists, led by Ollenhauer and with a mass following. But to keep this mass following they must maintain a policy fundamentally different from that of Adenauer, disdaining the accusations of "fellow-traveling" levied against them by the bourgeois press. It is only thus that they may one day become the instrument of a true reunification of Germany.

WHAT RUSSIA WANTS

An Eastern Locarno? . . . by Konni Zilliacus

London

A FORTNIGHT before the Berlin conference Mr. Eden repeated and amplified a point made a month earlier by Mr. Churchill: it might well be, he said, that the Russians would want some kind of safeguard against another German aggression. If so, the Western powers must give careful consideration to the demand and do their best to allay Soviet apprehensions.

Until the Berlin conference deals with this issue, there can be no German settlement. All other problems lead to it. It is the sixty-four-dollar question. It may not be answered this time, but it will have to be answered sooner or later if we are not to have another war.

Last May Mr. Churchill gave some indication of what he had in mind by speaking of an "eastern Locarno" under which the Western Allies might guarantee the Soviet Union against aggression by Germany and Germany against aggression by the Soviet Union. In the United States Mr. Adlai Stevenson has suggested a non-aggression treaty with the Soviet Union to allay its fears, apparently with the unofficial approval of President Eisenhower. Dr. Adenauer toyed with the idea in the German general-election campaign.

But there is considerable confusion in the public mind, and perhaps also in the minds of statesmen, as to how an "eastern Locarno" or a non-aggression treaty with the Soviet Union could be reconciled with the "containment of communism" which is the basis of American—and, with reservations, British and West European—world policy. The policy of "liberating" the eight hundred million people under Communist rule to which the Republican Administration is pledged is the logical and inevitable outcome of "containment" and is even more difficult to combine with any alleviation of the Soviet fear of Germany.

This difficulty is aggravated by the attitude of the Adenauer government and of German big business, Hitler's ex-generals, and the neo-Nazis and extreme reactionaries on whom Dr. Adenauer ultimately depends and who are making their comeback through rearmament. They scarcely trouble to conceal their intention to build up German power in order to turn the clock back at home and recover the eastern territories lost to Poland and the U. S. S. R. in the war. In these circumstances how can making Germany an ally and giving it arms be reconciled with Western guaranties to the Soviet Union against German aggression, or indeed with keeping the peace?

The confusion on these issues is made worse by vagueness about the terms of the pre-war Locarno treaties and non-

KONNI ZILLIACUS, for many years a dominant figure in the left wing of the British Labor Party, is the author of a number of books on British and international politics.

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aggression pacts and what they were intended to do. An examination of these treaties casts a good deal of light on the task facing the statesmen at the Berlin conference and the nature of the decisions they will be called upon to take.

BI-LATERAL non-aggression treaties were a Soviet invention. They were generally part of a policy that included trade treaties, obligations of friendship and cooperation, undertakings to settle differences by peaceful means, and pledges by each party not to join in any combination hostile to the other. But a general non-aggression treaty was initiated by the United States and bore the name of Secretary of State Kellogg. In the Kellogg Pact the signatory powers renounced the use of war as an instrument of national policy. This, Secretary Kellogg explained, made no difference to the right of states to decide what they must do in self-defense. Nor was anyone supposed to do anything in particular if a state used the plea of self-defense to cover aggression.

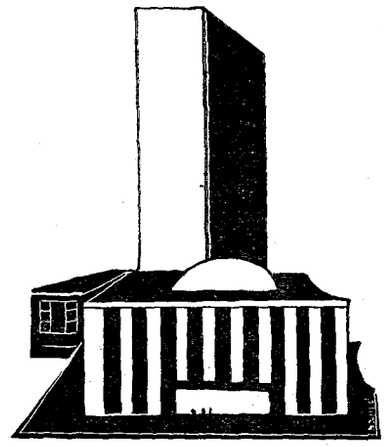
As it stood, therefore, the Kellogg Pact was useless. But the members of the League of Nations believed it could be utilized to close the "gap" in the Covenant by which states had the right in certain circumstances to resort to war. The Covenant, on the other hand, closed the yawning gaps in the Kellogg Pact, for it laid the obligation on the members of the League to pass judgment on the plea of self-defense and to restrain a state adjudged to be an aggressor. The peacemakers at Geneva drafted revisions of the Covenant on these lines, and in the Preparatory Commission of the Disarmament Conference adopted a definition of aggression based on a Soviet draft.

The United Nations Charter pledges member states never to resort to force, always to settle their differences peacefully, and to take joint action against a peace-breaker. On paper the Charter therefore combines the obligations of both the Covenant of the League and the Kellogg Pact. But unlike the Covenant, which made it the duty of all member states to decide for themselves whether there had been resort to war necessitating the application of "sanctions," the Charter intrusts this decision to the Security Council, and the members of the United Nations agree to follow its lead. The permanent members of the Security Council must be unanimous before it can decide on enforcement action to keep the peace, because, otherwise, as was pointed out by the British Foreign Office Commentary on the Charter published during the 1945 San Francisco conference, the United Nations might find itself committed to coercing a major power. If so, it would be responsible for starting a world war and would have failed in its purpose.

In pursuance, however, of the policy of "containment of communism," which was identified with self-defense and resumed after the war (it was initiated, in its dynamic "liberationist" form, by intervention in Russia after the First World War and continued by other means through Locarno and the pro-fascist appeasement that ended in the Second World War), the Western powers abandoned the attempt to base their relations with the Soviet Union on the Charter and reverted to the balance of power, based on NATO and rearmament. In Russian eyes Britain and France by joining NATO, which the Soviet government regards as a military alliance directed against Russia, have violated their obligations under the Anglo-Soviet and Franco-Soviet alliances concluded during the war. In these treaties each party undertakes to come to the other's assistance in case of a German attack and not to join in any combination hostile to the other party.

The Locarno treaties were concluded in 1925. In these treaties Belgium, France, and Germany undertook to respect the demilitarization of the Rhineland, to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court in disputes as to their rights, and to settle all other disputes by conciliation. France was to be entitled to regard a violation of Germany's obligation to demilitarize the Rhineland as an act of aggression justifying immediate measures of self-defense. Britain (and Italy!) underwrote and guaranteed this arrangement—that is, were pledged to intervene against whichever party committed aggression. Germany agreed to apply for admission to the League of Nations, and the other Locarno powers agreed to support it.

In French eyes the Locarno treaties revived the Anglo-French alliance. In the eyes of Dr. Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, its chief value was as



a first step to equality of rights, including the right to rearm, for Germany. Sir Austen Chamberlain saw Locarno as a return to the balance of power, with Britain holding the scales between Germany and France.

But Lord Dabernon, the British ambassador in Berlin at the time, makes it quite clear in his memoirs that the prime British purpose at Locarno was to bring Germany into the Western camp in order to enlist its aid in establishing a *cordon sanitaire* against the advance of communism in Europe. As part of this policy the Allies backed the right against the left in Germany and connived at German rearmament. The resemblance between this aspect of Locarno and the present policy of rearming Germany and bringing it into the European Defense Community and ultimately NATO is striking.

THIS SURVEY of the pre-war Locarno and non-aggression treaties and their relation to present commitments and problems suggests certain conclusions. The first is that the Western powers can hardly expect the Soviet government to accept guaranties from them against German aggression if at the same time they make an ally of and rearm Germany through bringing it into the E. D. C. The minimum Soviet condition for agreeing to the unification of Germany on the basis of free elections is likely to be that Germany should remain disarmed or very lightly armed under international control and that the German government should recognize and accept Germany's present frontiers in East and West and be debarred from entering into any mutual-defense pact with other countries.

Some of these conditions would be

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met by Germany's admission to the United Nations and consequent acceptance of the obligations of the Charter. This would presumably carry with it an Austrian settlement, the admission to the U. N. of all ex-enemy states in Europe, a reduction of their armaments to peace-treaty levels, and a withdrawal from their territories and that of Germany of both Western and Soviet armies of occupation. The seal on a European settlement along these lines would be an all-European regional agreement, within the U. N., for European economic development and the expansion of intra-European trade through the U. N. Economic Commission for Europe.

Only on some such lines is there any hope of an agreement by negotiation and compromise with the Soviet Union. But before any such settlement comes within the sphere of practical politics the Western powers must ask themselves—and answer—one fundamental question: do they want to wipe out communism in the world by overthrowing Communist regimes everywhere through outside pressure, backed by growing armaments, in conjunction with fomenting and supporting internal upheavals? Or do they want to trade and live at peace with the two-fifths of humanity under Communist rule on the basis of non-interference in each other's internal affairs? So long as all serious social and colonial unrest is regarded as communism and communism is thought of simply as a world-wide conspiracy made in Moscow, the first alternative is bound to be chosen, and it rules out any settlement at Berlin. Indeed, it rules out any settlement anywhere and makes a third world war inevitable.

Part of the price of peace today is the courage and wisdom to overcome political illiteracy and social hysteria, to recognize that communism has roots in the social, political, and educational conditions of the countries in which it exists, that it does not seriously threaten democratic countries with a decent standard of living, that it cannot be wiped out or even "contained" by force, but that given peace and trade between East and West, Communist parties and regimes can evolve toward democracy and eventually free themselves from Soviet tutelage.

THE FULBRIGHT FELLOW

An Arkansas Traveler . . *by Edgar Kemler*

ON JULY 24 last a tall Lincolnesque figure with plain clean-cut features and an unabashed Arkansas drawl stood before a Senate appropriations subcommittee. Calmly he explained why we should continue sending American college students abroad for postgraduate study and continue bringing foreign students to American institutions. "This exchange of students," he said, "is one of the most successful activities of our government in improving relations with foreign peoples." The Senators listened attentively. The speaker, J. William Fulbright, was the author of the exchange program which bears his name, and for that reason had just been awarded an honorary degree by Oxford University.

The only skeptic was Joseph McCarthy, the junior Senator from Wisconsin. "Did Senator Fulbright believe that a witness who took refuge in the Fifth Amendment should be considered a Communist?" McCarthy asked. "I think that is a debatable question," Fulbright drawled. "While I would not approve of it, I could well imagine intelligent people refusing to answer questions because they object to the indignity to which they are subjected."

As the hearing went on, McCarthy asked Fulbright whether he thought Communist Party members should be barred from the benefits of the Fulbright scholarships. "I think they should be, and I think they have been," Fulbright replied, adding that he knew of no instance of an award going to a member of the Communist Party.

At this, McCarthy reached into his briefcase and pulled out a fistful of cases, all "tarred" in varying degree with questionable associations, though two of them had served the United States with great success as lecturers overseas. The wife of a third had invoked the Fifth Amendment before McCarthy's one-man investigating subcommittee a month before, and at McCarthy's request the man's award had been canceled.

More recently, when Fulbright was asked about a second attack that seemed to be threatening the student-exchange program—Roy M. Cohn, McCarthy's former counsel, had hinted at it—Fulbright looked at the interviewer with genuine amazement. "McCarthy," he drawled, repeating the name as if he couldn't remember who the man was, "McCarthy, he's got nothing on us. Of course, there've been more than 11,000 in this thing, and they're bound to be a few screwballs among them."

Fulbright has never made any secret of his hostility to McCarthy. He publicly criticized the great red-hunter for relying on the testimony of Louis Budenz. And his was the only vote—Democratic or Republican—against the appropriation for McCarthy's committee when the question came to the floor of the Senate a fortnight ago. The press has paid little attention to this feud, but there is no doubt that the Arkansas philosopher has more than held his own. The Educational Exchange Service which administers the program has survived the inquisition without a scar. None of its grants have been publicly disavowed except in the case of the man mentioned above.

Fulbright is an extraordinary man—a passionate democrat and a passionate

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internationalist who understands that "democracy is more likely to be destroyed by the perversion or abandonment of its principles than by armed attack from Russia." During a previous dispute with his fellow-Senators, a hard-bitten newsman predicted that sooner or later Fulbright would get burned. "It's a fight between an owl and a bunch of foxes," he said. "The owl can't possibly win." Fulbright's career shows he was wrong.

ARKANSAS has been rated at or near the cultural nadir of the United States. During the twenties H. L. Mencken used to say that there was not one first-rate man in the entire state. But now that the Arkansans are represented by "that fellow with all them diplomas"—Fulbright has ten honorary degrees—they feel they have turned the tables on their critics. Occasionally they complain that the Senator talks too much about foreign policy and not enough about roads and dams. Fulbright is aware of this criticism, but he still makes some fifty stump speeches a year on his favorite subject. And in 1950, when he was up for his second term, he was so intrenched in his Senate seat that nobody would run against him.

Intelligence is not his only attribute. From his father, Jay Fulbright, he inherited considerable shrewdness. Starting out as a chicken farmer in Sumner, Missouri, the elder Fulbright wound up as the wealthiest man in Fayetteville, Arkansas (population, 8,212), with a lumber mill, a furniture factory, a newspaper, and a herd of Hereford beef cattle. From his mother Bill inherited his persistence and his independence. Until her death last January at nearly eighty Roberta Fulbright published and edited the Fayetteville *Northwest Arkansas Times,* a reform paper that succeeded in putting more than one county official in jail. Bill was obviously devoted to these two remarkable parents. Yet his democratic credo is peculiarly his own. When asked how long it took him to write the few paragraphs that constitute the Fulbright Act, he replied, "About twelve years studying history, economics, and government, and traveling through Europe."

As a student at the University of Arkansas he not only gave early promise of becoming the state's "brainiest man" but was an outstanding football player. After graduation he spent the next three years at Oxford as a Rhodes scholar. Of this experience he says: "Study abroad did me a lot of good, and I'm glad I can help others to have the same." There followed two years of study and travel in Austria and seven years of studying and teaching law at George Washington University in Washington, D. C.

In 1936, when his father died, the future Senator returned to Fayetteville to manage the family interests. Then as now he looked on himself primarily as a school teacher, and he took a part-time job as associate professor of law at the University of Arkansas, which is in Fayetteville. Politics was beyond his horizon. Like many another man of principle, he doubted that "it would ever be possible to elect leaders in whom the people had confidence, leaders who deserved their respect." Indeed, it was largely his frustration as a teacher that led to his debut as a politician, and it was his fire-eating mother who inadvertently gave him the push.

This is the story. In 1939, when he was only thirty-five, the university's Board of Regents suddenly jumped him over most of the faculty to make him president. They could not afford to import an established educator from outside, and the young Fulbright looked like their best bet among the homegrown possibilities. Gregarious and unassuming, the new president was an immediate success. Playing ping-pong in the freshman social hall and going fishing with the faculty, he managed to imbue the campus with something of his own democratic faith. All went well until the 1940 elections, when his editor-mother printed a blast against Homer Adkins, the governor-elect, calling him a blowhard and a handshaker. As soon as Adkins took office, he replied to the mother by firing the son on the ground that he was not an educator but a political hack.

Senator Fulbright

In the Congressional elections of 1942 his former students constituted his political organization, and the electorate gave him the decision. Two years later he entered the state-wide Democratic primary as a candidate for the United States Senate, and won an even greater vote of confidence. This time his opponents were his mortal enemy, Governor Adkins, and the Democratic incumbent, the powerful Mrs. Hattie Caraway.

FIRST as Representative and then as Senator, Fulbright simply transferred his deceptively leisurely classroom manner to the larger stage of national and international legislation. In 1942 the House Foreign Affairs Committee, to which he was assigned, was chiefly concerned with Lend-Lease. "The English will never pay us back," was the theme of the isolationist members. "What difference does it make," he replied, "if only we can join with Britain, Russia, and our other allies in a world organization to prevent World War III?" This was the origin of the Congressional commitment to the post-war United Nations. Fulbright introduced a simple resolution of fifty-five words to this effect, and the House approved it by a vote of 360 to 29. The Senate, somewhat piqued that the initiative for such an important measure should have come from a freshman Representative, wrote and adopted the so-called "Fullerbrighter resolution"—the same resolution only wordier.

In 1951 Fulbright's independence brought him into collision with his one-time friend Harry S. Truman, who resented his exposure of high-level influence-peddling in the R. F. C. Much has been written about this quarrel, and Fulbright is still more or less on probation with many Democrats because of it. However, while he may have been lacking in tact, there can be no question about his motives. He did not ask for the investigating job. "Nobody else

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wanted it," he says, "so they [the Banking and Currency Committee] gave it to me." And before he made his findings public, he relayed them to the White House via Charlie Murphy, the President's aide, with the understanding that if Mr. Truman took remedial action, the findings would be buried. Unfortunately Mr. Truman did not recognize the seriousness of the charges until after they had been made public.

Meanwhile, Fulbright was made to pay the price of his independence. In a private phone call from the White House, Truman called him "an over-educated Oxford so and so." In the Senate cloakroom the aged Senator McKellar mocked him for trying to write the ethical code of the government. "Which does he think he is," McKellar asked rhetorically, "Moses or Martin Luther?" Today Fulbright can look back at the affair with some measure of inner satisfaction, but at the time he took it very hard.

FULBRIGHT'S Student Exchange Program was enacted into law by the Seventy-ninth Congress in June, 1946. Had he done nothing else, this would have justified his Congressional career. In 1952 he headed a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee in the "most thorough and objective study of this activity ever undertaken, certainly in the Congress and perhaps anywhere." In its interim report of June 15, 1953, the subcommittee ranked student exchange "among the most effective instruments for the creation of mutual understanding and good-will." (At the same time it ranked the Voice of America among the worst.) This finding has been supported by a *Time* magazine survey in fifty-four United Nations countries and by an investigation of foreign students after their return to their own country conducted by the United States Information Service. The latter study shows that the great majority of these students have become distinctly pro-American, as evidenced by their published writings and speeches; if a few are still anti-American, they are at least intelligently so. Certain Philippine students were so enthusiastic that they applied for United States citizenship. This was contrary to Fulbright's intent, and while other Senators supported their applications, Fulbright opposed them.

The reason for the program's success, Fulbright says, is that it satisfies the aspirations of all intelligent free men. The Voice of America is "too overt and too blatant"; like the radio commercial, which is its model, it is designed "to overpower the listener by volume and repetition rather than by reason." On the other hand, wherever student exchange is in effect, that is, wherever United States scholars are studying, lecturing, or doing research in foreign universities, or vice versa, there a little international community comes spontaneously into being. And this community sometimes survives even after the scholars go home, through correspondence, "alumni" clubs, and publications.

As to the mechanics of the program, half the funds consist of foreign credits accumulated from the sale of United States surplus war property overseas. The credits are used to support abroad between one thousand and two thousand United States scholars annually on a subsistence basis. The funds providing for the reverse flow of scholars to the United States are appropriated by Congress under the Smith-Mundt Act. Last year $8,500,000 was allotted to this purpose. Foreign candidates are processed by a bi-national commission in their native countries, and their names are then referred to the Board of Foreign Scholarships in the United States for final selection. In this country the preliminary processing is done by four agencies under contract to the board—the American Council on Education, the Office of Education, the Associate Research Councils, and the Institute for International Education. All candidates are "cleared" by the State Department's security office.

The top officials of the program serve voluntarily, and this, Fulbright says, is one of its most attractive features. The eight-member Board of Foreign Scholarships is headed by Professor Walter Johnson, the historian of the University of Chicago. On the bi-national commissions representatives of American industries sit side by side with the foreign minister or the minister of education of the host country, with the United States ambassador as honorary chairman.

THE PROGRAM has been growing by leaps and bounds. Every year, by executive agreement, one or more countries have been added to the list until there are now twenty-eight, all over the free world. Two countries have been dropped —China after the collapse of Chiang Kai-shek and Korea after the outbreak of hostilities. Contrary to the impression created by McCarthy and his staff, there is no student exchange with Iron Curtain countries. However, Fulbright himself—and he makes no secret of this —sees no reason why those countries should not be included in the program.

There is another factor in the program's growth. Our new role in world affairs has stimulated a great upsurge of interest in all things American. From Norway to Italy academic chairs have been founded for the study of American life and letters. From England to Iran students are seriously discussing American developments. The bi-national commissions provide first-class instructors to lead the discussions—like George R. Stewart, author of "Storm," who filled the chair at the University of Athens last year. One possible result of this movement is that English might become a second tongue in Free Europe. An experiment in this direction is being conducted by American teachers in the grade schools of the smaller Greek cities.

With all learning suspected by McCarthy, student exchange is "too good to be true," as one reporter put it. Indeed, if Fulbright should ever relax his vigilance, it might be swallowed up altogether. Through his influence, student exchange was kept separated from other information activities when the heavy-handed Dr. Robert L. Johnson, McCarthy's friend, became briefly the information chief. With every new Con-

Fulbright on Bricker

In one of the most forceful attacks on the Bricker amendment to be delivered from the Senate floor Senator Fulbright described the proposal as a hopeless attempt to escape the world. He added: "Our enemy is not the President of the United States, whether the incumbent, his successor, or his predecessors. The Constitution charges the President with the duty of conducting foreign affairs by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. It was never intended by the Found-in Fathers that the President should be a ventriloquist's dummy."

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gress, Fulbright personally buttonholes the new members and acquaints them with the history and purpose of the program. From the recipients and would-be recipients of the grants Fulbright receives about a thousand letters a year.

At the present time the greatest danger, Fulbright has said, is "not from Communist subversion, or even from McCarthy himself. The greatest danger is from public apathy." "No Senator is against the Fulbright Act," he added, "but very few are really for it either." The private foundations, he admitted, have always been eager to enter this field, the John Hay Whitney and the Ford Foundation and others; last year they provided $1,300,000 above what was appropriated by Congress and obtained from war-surplus credits. But if for one reason or another the government should withdraw its support of the program, the private foundations could never fill the gap.

Under the Fulbright Act the United States is officially sponsoring an international community of learning. If this community can be maintained indefinitely at its present level, some day, Senator Fulbright thinks, it may become the seedbed for a more viable United Nations which the United States will also sponsor.

ITALIAN WORKERS

And U. S. Pressures . . . *by Gina Racca*

Rome

ITALIAN officialdom and writers in the so-called independent press have kept unusually silent on the warning reported to have been received from Washington which said in effect, "Weed out your Communists from industrial plants, or else. . . ." Washington correspondents of the Italian papers have tried to minimize the story and stressed the official denials of the State Dapartment. De Gasperi, now but the secretary general of the Christian Democrats, writing in an obscure weekly party organ, *Discussione,* blandly advises Washington and London "not to exaggerate" the impact of communism on the Italian political and social structure. Even the leftist press has refrained from taking a strong position on the matter; privately, leftist spokesmen have blamed Mrs. Luce for another *gaffe* similar to the one she committed a few days before the June elections, which may well have helped the Communists to roll up a big vote. "Once again we are very grateful to Mrs. Luce," a staff writer on the Communist *Unità* said to me.

What has not been printed is probably more illuminating than the meager comments on the rather ticklish situation. The Communists and the fellow-traveling Nenni Socialists, in spite of their anti-Americanism and their opposition in principle to E. D. C. and rearmament, cannot openly oppose United States contracts for defense production without antagonizing the workers, who don't care much whom they work for as long as they get their bread and salami. And of course the Communist-dominated General Confederation of Labor (C. G. I. L.) goes along with them. The managerial groups and the democratic labor organizations have perhaps different but equally good reasons for maintaining a guarded silence. The situation has been called very "delicate" by the Confederazione Generale dell'Industria, the Italian counterpart of N. A. M., and by spokesmen for both the C. I. S. L., which has close ties with the Christian Democratic Party, and the anti-clerical U. I. L., which is backed by the Social Democrats and Republicans.

It does not seem appropriate or wise to defy American public opinion when the question of foreign aid has not yet "jelled" in the State Department, and even less in Congress. Nevertheless, American threats to cancel defense contracts or even strong warnings addressed to the Italian government may easily backfire. For Italian workers, if not for intellectuals, communism has a different connotation than for Americans; it is embraced for economic rather than ideological reasons. If the majority of Italian organized labor adheres to the C. G. I. L., they do so largely because they feel that, being the strongest organization, it will best further their interests.

A "get-tough-with-the-Commies" policy, especially if inspired by a foreign power, would certainly be unrealistic. C. G. I. L. members—five million, according to its own figure, three and a half million according to democratic sources—are present in every large industrial plant, and probably about half of them belong to the Communist Party. To deny contracts to companies that employ a substantial number of Communists would practically rule out most large concerns in northern Italy, where, it should be noted, Communist strength has not increased in the past months and the number of strikes has decreased compared with a year ago. To deprive those companies of United States defense contracts would only mean greater unemployment and, obviously, a greater mass of hungry and dissatisfied citizens who could easily fall prey to Communist propaganda. The percentage of the Communist vote has always been high among the unemployed, and recently communism has made deeper inroads in the south, where extreme poverty is rampant, than in the industrial north.

As things stand, the pressure which Washington allegedly intends to put on the Italian government and on heads of industry will make strange bedfellows of Signor Agnelli, who owns the Fiat works, and Signor di Vittorio, secretary general of the C. G. I. L. The authoritative Turin daily, *La Stampa,* financed

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by the Agnelli family, has dismissed the whole business as "absurd" and "impracticable," while Di Vittorio has asked the government what "concrete measures" it proposes to take to "safeguard national independence and dignity" and to oppose the "blackmail, based on the threat of hunger" against the "free conscience" of Italian workers. "We could subscribe to almost every word of Signor di Vittorio's protest," wryly commented a spokesman of the Christian Democratic labor organization.

THE AMERICAN taxpayer, however, quite naturally wants to know where his money goes, and to be sure that it will not enrich the enemies of the free world. A problem, therefore, exists for both the government and the industrialists, and it cannot be solved by minimizing the threat of communism, harping on the decreasing frequency of strikes, or relying on "sensible" shop foremen in the factories to get rid of the so-called "activists." Management is obliged to play ball with the C. G. I. L. Many leaders of the democratic labor unions complain bitterly that the big employers will not raise a finger without at least indirectly consulting Di Vittorio.

The main trouble is something that the Italian industrialists refuse to admit and that American officials fail to emphasize with sufficient determination: it is the anti-social, sometimes actually feudal, attitude of management toward labor. Italy may have excellent social legislation—in some fields there are iron-clad protections for workers—but the "boss" is generally considered an enemy, and human relations between employer and employee are practically nonexistent. "When the company sent me over here," a mine director employed by one of the strongest industrial concerns said to me, "I was forced to put a piece of iron ore where my heart should be."

Such are the imponderables that probably do more to spread communism than all the propaganda of Messrs. Togliatti and Nenni. It might be well for American procurement officers to look at the persons at the top as well as at the bottom of the ladder when recommending companies for United States defense contracts.

"LIBERATING" THE INDIAN

Euphemism for a Land Grab . . *by Dorothy Bohn*

Great Falls, Montana

ON JULY 27, 1953, Congress, under pressure from the Department of the Interior, announced a change of policy toward the American Indian that appears, to Indians, as a sweeping betrayal of trust. Joint Resolution 108 declared that the long-existing relationship between the federal government and the Indians was to be terminated, regardless of Indian desires. In August, President Eisenhower signed Public Law 280, enacted in pursuance of this policy, though he termed it an "un-Christian" approach. The new law permits any state government to substitute itself for the federal government in civil and criminal matters involving Indians—which means, in effect, that the states will be able to pulverize tribal cultures.

Public Law 280 was only a beginning. The Interior Department has now sent to Congress separate bills that together affect 70,000 Indians, and more are to come. Each bill purports to deal on a local basis with a named group of Indians. The effect of all will be to abolish federal trusteeship, dissolve the tribal constitutions and charters through which Indians are entitled to defend their property, end all federal Indian services, and nullify, without Indian consent, the contractual commitments of the federal government toward the tribes. These commitments are formulated in numerous treaties, agreements, and statutes, and in the charters and constitutions worked out through the Indian Reorganization Act.

In 1922-23, when Albert B. Fall was Secretary of the Interior, a similar attack on Indian rights was launched through the medium of the Indian omnibus bill. Because this was an omnibus bill, the Indians and their friends could mobilize to defeat it, and they did. A hundred separate bills, each local in application, each ostensibly based on a special need, are far more difficult to defeat.

What is the purpose of these bills? Are they another "land grab" in the guise of "emancipation"? John Collier, former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, believes that private interests are behind them and that the American Indian is threatened with destruction. "As soon as the federal trust is dissolved," he said in a recent speech before the American Anthropological Association, "the land would be broken into individual ownership. In no time the white man would move in and take over this land that is worth so many billions of dollars. . . . I am not aware of any state pressure wanting to take over the Indians. It would bring nothing but misery for the states and the Indians."

MONTANA, with 4 per cent of its population living on seven Indian reservations, is deeply concerned over the proposed laws. The first Montana reservation marked for liquidation is the Flathead, which includes some of America's finest timber lands, water resources, and dam sites. Other Montana reservations are rich in oil and mineral resources—prime targets for special interests. The issue was recently discussed in Great Falls at an open forum sponsored by the Cascade County Community Council before a packed gallery. Representatives of

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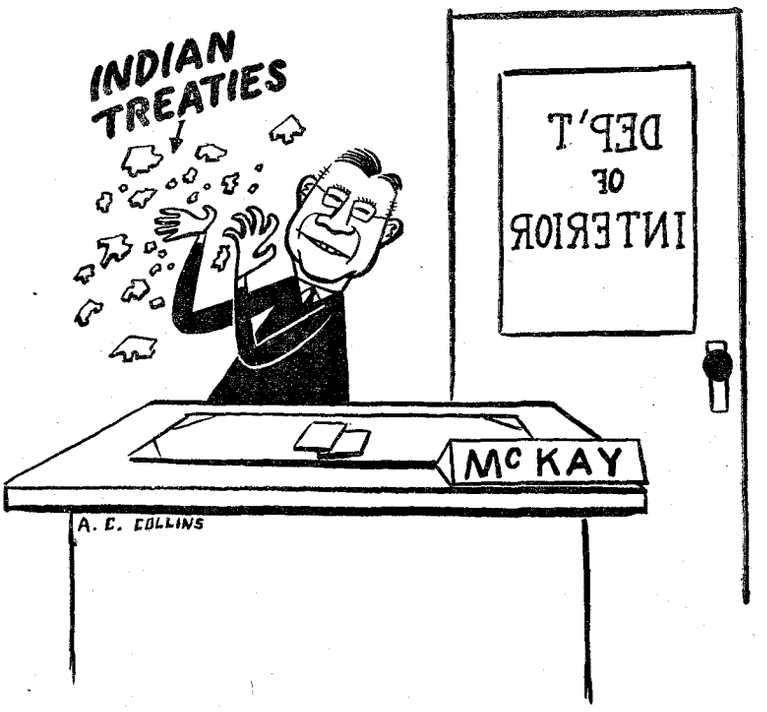
the government and of the Inter-Tribal Policy Board, which speaks for the eight Montana tribes, presented arguments pro and con. The apprehension of the Indians over their abandonment by the federal government and the impact of the change on state welfare and other agencies were the main points stressed by the opposition.

Walter McDonald, chairman of the Flathead Tribal Council, attacked the measure as sponsored by persons who cared only for money. He reported that a Congressional committee told the Flatheads that each member of the tribe was worth $17,000 and the tribe as a whole more than $77,000,000. McDonald asserted that the Congressmen attempted to use these statistics to get members to sign a petition favoring the plan. "We have a sacred right to be on our reservation," he said. "I can't see why Congress is so interested in our reservation."

Steve DeMers of the Inter-Tribal Policy Board objected to the haste of the withdrawal as planned by the government. "Liquidation could not be accomplished in two years," he said, "the period allowed under the proposed bill." K. W. Bergen, state Coordinator of Indian Affairs, said it was not fair for the federal government to throw on to the state or county the problems that its own reservation system had created. The most dramatic note of the evening, which brought applause from the predominantly Indian audience, was sounded by Dave Higgins, chairman of the Inter-Tribal Policy Board, who had been allotted ten minutes of discussion time. "Ten minutes," he said, "is a short time to cover 175 years of wrongdoing."



"We believe in equal rights for Indians—without Reservations."

ALL OVER AMERICA people are waking up to this threat to our Indian citizens. National organizations like the Association on American Indian Affairs and the Indian Rights Association are leading protest movements. The three hundred delegates to the tenth annual convention of the National Congress of American Indians, held at Phoenix, Arizona, on December 7-9, adopted resolutions opposing any measures to end federal service to Indians. Similar action has been taken by the Montana Conference of Social Welfare, the Montana Inter-Tribal Policy Board, and various civic and church groups. The Daughters of the American Revolution, at its sixty-second Continental Congress last April, passed a resolution asking that no federal services be withdrawn without the full consent of each tribe concerned.

At the Conference of Indian Rights and Resources held under the sponsorship of the University of Minnesota on November 9 and 10, the issues were clearly stated by D'Arcy McNickle, nationally known author and director of the American Indian Development Foundation. Mr. McNickle believed that the present situation in Congress had arisen because members were impatient with the slowness with which the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indians themselves were moving toward integration. But he pointed out that Congress itself and the administrative agency charged with responsibility for Indian affairs had failed to provide adequate health care, education, or aid in the development and proper use of Indian resources. As a result the Indian people were unprepared for full participation in our competitive society.

At the same conference Dr. Richard Schifter, a Washington, D.C., attorney who is general counsel of the Association on American Indian Affairs, stated that "in many respects this is a movement to liberate the Indian from his land." He affirmed that the Indian's right to his land was "a basic, natural right," first proclaimed by papal authority and subsequently upheld by Supreme Court decisions. "If we agree that we are here dealing with a moral rather than a legal principle," he continued, "we must recognize that Congress can neither repeal nor amend it. It is there for us to obey it or to violate it."

The white man's attitude toward the Indian has been inconsistent and vacillating. Though treaties have been made and laws have been passed to protect the Indian's sovereign right to the land, he has been inexorably pushed back until only a few scattered reservations remain to him.

Throughout the history of the United States conscience and Manifest Destiny have been at odds, but in the past two decades conscience appears to have had the upper hand. In 1934 Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act, which halted the movement away from the land and encouraged development of Indian resources. In 1946 it set up the Indian Claims Commission to adjudicate claims against the federal government. Now the pendulum appears to be swinging the other way. When the Indian's culture and folkways have passed from the American scene, Congress can build monuments to his memory and eulogize him as a part of our "glorious past."

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BOOKS

Design for Living

SURVIVAL THROUGH DESIGN. By Richard Neutra. Oxford University Press. $5.50.

By Robert M. Hutchins

WHEN I was in the army many years ago, in camp at the fairgrounds at Allentown, Pennsylvania, four of us lived in accommodations formerly occupied by one prize hog. I do not know much about the way in which superior animals are now housed, but I suppose that since the principal object of those who look after them is to see that they are healthy and comfortable rather than to make a profit out of housing them, the conditions of life of valuable animals are better even yet than those of men.

Last Saturday the visibility in Pasadena was four blocks. The spectators at the Santa Anita race track could not see the well-tended horses until they reached the finish line. The same condition prevailed over most of Los Angeles County, a territory in which four million people are living. It has prevailed at more frequent and for longer periods in the last ten years, and its dark and poisonous quality grows worse from month to month. Everybody knows what causes it. Nobody believes that anything will be done about it. The most elementary requirement of human life, air, is one that the people of Los Angeles County must apparently reconcile themselves to going without.

Last Sunday a traffic jam outside Los Angeles lasted six hours. At an official temperature of 86 degrees, miles and miles of cars remained motionless in the broiling sun. They began to move at last only because infuriated drivers at the head of the line broke the law and escaped over an incompleted road that was closed to traffic.

Every morning and evening, in every big city in this country, the long line of sweating or freezing drivers fights its officeward or homeward way. Usually each driver is alone in a car that would hold five persons; one-fifth the number of cars would carry the same number of riders at one-fifth the cost, nervous strain, and traffic congestion. Yet all new parking places are built within the city rather than in a ring around it; so the process of strangulation must become more and more effective.

Any twelve-year-old can see that the slums of Los Angeles, like those of every other city, are a scandal. But the real-estate men and all but one newspaper agree that public housing is arrant communism, and Mayor Bowron was defeated in the last election mainly on this issue.

People can get used to anything. But as Mr. Neutra shows in his new book, "the fact that a man does not realize the harmfulness of a product or a design-element in his surroundings does not mean that it is harmless. We need other, more objective, criteria than mere opinions or custom and habit. We may become used to the sight of a telephone pole in front of our window and may claim that we can ignore it, but it still might be proved detrimental to visual and thus general well-being."

The "other, more objective, criteria" that Mr. Neutra proposes are those supplied by the various biological sciences. "The fresh goal of our discussions is to stimulate interest in objective physiological data as guides in constructing and judging human environment to fit man, properly appraised. . . . The historical moment has dawned when a host of physiologically and sociologically informed and inspired professions, planners, architects, social workers, all trained in team effort, shall be encouraged to advise sound developers and development, and reconstruct an environment that will be an aid instead of a handicap to the survival of the race."

Not that Mr. Neutra suggests that a study of physiology will suffice to make the architect and planner what he ought to be. On the contrary, he says, "I should like to do away with the implication that the designer in his functioning can be wholly governed by *scientific attitude* or *methods,* or should aspire to be a scientist himself. . . . He must learn to respect science as a base and corrective, but as an artist he will not use it in cold blood."

MR. NEUTRA is wise, witty, experienced, penetrating, traveled, and learned. For thirty years he has been one of the world's leading architects and planners. He does not reach his conclusions on the basis of the scientific evidence; he uses it to back up his conclusions. He says, "We dread tax increases and new bond issues more than daily stabs into the sensitive tissue of our healthy living." And again, "Diversified slums that prove veritable gold mines for their absentee owners are a bad drain on the community's well-being and an awful biological liability to their occupants."

The scientific evidence supports the evidence of our eyes, ears, noses, and common sense. Mr. Neutra employs the scientific evidence in the way in which a speaker in behalf of peace might refer to the atomic bomb, to heighten the rhetorical effect of his central argument. This is that "humanity all over the globe . . . appears now at the mercy of a rampant over-advertised industrial technology which is flooding us off our physiological bearings and, it may sometimes seem, is threatening to drown the entire race like a litter of defenseless kittens. . . . The issue is one of survival by virtue of wholesomeness, or damnation and death through our own default."

Every architect and planner will read this book. Every citizen should. This appears to be a time when conditions obvious (and repulsive) to everybody can be remedied only if the citizens can be aroused and stay aroused long enough to convince the politicians and vested interests that they mean business. The individual citizen of a metropolitan area served by a one-party press can see what is wrong, but he can seldom think of anything better to do than to indulge in inarticulate howls of grief. Mr. Neutra supplies him with rhetorical weapons that may be more effective in a scientific age.

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, former president of the University of Chicago, is associate director of the Ford Foundation.

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New Books in Brief

The Ostmark Since the War

THE REBIRTH OF AUSTRIA. By Richard Hiscocks. Oxford. $3.50.

For the better part of a decade successive Administrations have sought, thus far in vain, to conclude a treaty with Austria on terms acceptable to the U. S. S. R., the Western powers, and the Austrian government. The effort is now being pursued anew. Yet the issues involved, the sources of the deadlock, and the problems of post-war Austria are virtually unknown to Americans save for a few bureaucrats, journalists, and academic specialists. This gap in our current knowledge of an ancient state is here happily bridged by a Canadian scholar who has spent much time in Austria since 1946. Richard Hiscocks of the University of Manitoba has written the best one-volume survey yet published of Austrian politics, economics, culture, and foreign relations since "liberation."

His enthusiasm for the people of Austria somewhat blunts the sharpness of his analysis. His account, moreover, obscures the fact that Austria's business system, approved alike by the clerical People's Party and the Social Democrats, is neither socialist nor capitalist but a synthesis of medieval "guilds" and modern "corporativism" in which competitive enterprise and public planning are both at a minimum. But if you want to know in outline what has happened in Austria in recent years, this is the book to read.

The Germans Were Fooled

THE MAN WHO NEVER WAS. By Ewen Montagu. Lippincott. $2.75.

The story of one of the most successful war-time ruses on record. The problem faced by British Naval Intelligence was to persuade the Germans that Sardinia and Greece were to be the Allied objectives after the conquest of North Africa and thus divert their attention and their strength from Sicily. The method used was to acquire a suitable corpse, provide it with a credible identity and spurious top-secret messages, and put it in the water off the coast of Spain in the hope that it would be picked up and the papers turned over by the Spanish authorities to German Intelligence. It was made a stupendously difficult task by the necessity of perfecting every detail of the crucial letters and supplying exactly the corroborative evidence that would persuade the most skeptical German they were not a "plant." The officer chiefly responsible for carrying out the operation has effectively described it in this book.

Our Changing Colleges

ACADEMIC PROCESSION. By Ernest Earnest. Bobbs-Merrill. $4.

In this "informal history" of the American college from the foundation of Harvard to the present day, Professor Earnest has integrated the fruits of thorough research into a vigorous and entertaining narrative. His main concern has been to trace the evolution of curricula from static classicism through the development of the elective system, which "intensified both fragmentation and specialization," down to the current reaction that stresses a foundation of the humanities even for science majors. In addition, the author has much of interest to say about student manners and morals and has some very timely pages on the never-ending battle between educators and political demagogues, bigoted sectarians, and assorted busybodies.

The one criticism that might be offered of his book is that it draws too much on the experience of the Eastern colleges. There is only one reference to the University of California, two to Stanford, and none at all to Reed College in Oregon, one of the most interesting and successful of the progressive schools.

Woman's Place

LADY INTO WOMAN. By Vera Brittain. Macmillan. $3.25.

One would suppose it to be a difficult feat to write a really dull book on the subject of the evolution of women's place in society since the days of Victoria, but Mrs. Brittain has successfully accomplished the feat. The dulness is due in part to the number of unimportant and peripheral details included, in part to a kind of naivete in presentation, and in part to a style which permits such double-talk as, "Drunkenness became the shamefaced vice of a double-standard society, in which sex relationships supplied the theme for sordid jests and legitimate intercourse was rendered tedious by the docile subordination of wives." Anyone interested in the women's-rights movement would do better to read George Dangerfield's brilliant chapters on the subject in "The Death of Liberal England."

Fair Employment—a History

RACE, JOBS, POLITICS, THE STORY OF FEPC. By Louis Ruchames. Columbia. $3.75.

This is a well-written description of the struggle for equality of job opportunity, most of it devoted to the stormy life of the Fair Employment Practices Committee of World War II. The author describes the snowballing demand for war-time action against discrimination, the threatened "March on Washington" of June, 1941, that led to establishment of the committee, subsequent wrangles in Congress, and the committee's more famous cases. He shows convincingly that the war-time F. E. P. C. caused a

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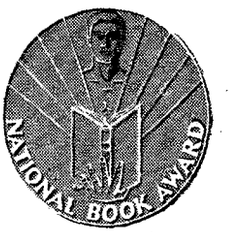

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radical change in thinking about civil rights by dramatizing the role that government can and should play in establishing equality and that it was a decisive factor in the enactment of dozens of state laws against discrimination between 1945 and 1950. On several occasions, however, President Roosevelt faltered in his support of the war-time committee. His weakness on this issue is a reminder that the New Deal period represents a tragically wasted opportunity in the civil-rights struggle; really significant gains could have been achieved if the civil-rights forces had had in readiness the kind of organization they have since built up.

The Regional Theater

DRAMATIC HERITAGE. By Paul Green. Samuel French. $2.50.

Most of the twenty-odd short essays in this volume by the professor of dramatics at the University of North Carolina are concerned in one way or another with making a case for the "regional" theater. Probably no one has more first-hand knowledge of the subject than the author, and he is often very persuasive. Many will probably agree that the enormous increase in local theatrical activities during the past quarter of a century is the most encouraging aspect of the generally dark picture of dramatic activity in the United States. Almost as many, however, may suspect that Professor Green somewhat overestimates the actual achievement as opposed to the promise of the little theaters, community festivals, and so on. So far as the "folk drama" is concerned, it is probably too late: mass communication has destroyed its roots and eroded the soil in which it might grow. On the other hand, "home town" efforts in the direction of the intellectual and the cosmopolitan often suffer from an absence of the professional competence of which Broadway has all too much. Miracles may happen, but they have not happened very often yet.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

TEN paintings by Jackson Pollock, all done in 1953, make up the current exhibition at the Sidney Janis Gallery (through February 27). They are surprisingly different, one from the other. As a result the consistency of style that marked Pollock's work of three or four years ago is patently disrupted. This is a normal occurrence, of course, particularly if it turns out to be a period between periods.

Recently I had occasion to study in some detail the work done by Van Gogh in his two Paris years. Its variety is extraordinary: reminiscences of Holland and the Dutch period, impressionism à la Pissarro, pointillism à la Seurat, the "Japanese" pictures, and a pre-Fauvist explosion which even Vlaminck never matched. Picture by picture Old Shoes, View of Montmartre with a Windmill, Restaurant Interior, Portrait of Père Tanguy, and The Fourteenth of July in Paris give the cumulative impression of a spirit in turmoil, pausing to observe the work of others and seeking to dominate it by a personal transformation. But there is a striking continuity through it all—a haunting sensation of loneliness. One can envisage the owner of the boots—as one can the owner of Jimmy Savo's shoes as painted by Loren MacIver. Nobody is around in the Montmartre landscape, and this is part of its complete divergence from impressionist landscapes. The restaurant is empty, and a single hat on a peg enforces this emptiness. Père Tanguy stares out like a Byzantine saint, taking no interest in his Japanese possessions; how different from the Print Collectors of Daumier and Degas! There are some people in the Quatorze Juillet, but there is no joy: rather, a Kirchneresque impact of souls caught in a predicament, as someone has aptly defined expressionism.

I have not forgotten about Pollock, but some of these Van Goghs are on view in the large retrospective currently at the Philadelphia Museum of Art (through February 28) and to be at the Toledo Museum of Art from March 7 to April 30, and thus my digression is not entirely capricious. The show is substantially similar to the one staged by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1950, though the representation of the crucial Paris period is somewhat more extensive. Those who may have missed the earlier exhibition should not overlook the opportunity to inspect many of the best Van Goghs owned in the Netherlands.

Now for Pollock. I find a multiplicity in these new works no more bewildering than that in Van Gogh's Paris pictures, but the continuity is harder to detect. Easter and the Totem is redolent of a Matisse of 1916-17, Bathers by a River. Portrait with a Dream, a long picture in two parts, has a strongly Picasso-like head, vintage 1932-34. Kandinsky rules one half of Sleeping Effort. I may be terribly wrong, but these struck me more as pastiches than as transformations. Even a copy can be a transformation: witness Renoir's version of Delacroix's Jewish Wedding (Worcester Museum) and Manet's variation on the same master's Barque of Dante (Metropolitan).

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ever, still with us, and he is still evolving. The best picture in the current show is, I think, Ocean Greyness, a big horizontal canvas which is well-named. Parenthetically, one may mention Pollock's return to poetic titles after a period of undebatable opus numbers. Ocean Greyness is a magnificent marine felt as if one were immersed in a great body of water full of yawning vortices and tearing currents. Imagine an enlarged detail of a Marin oil, or even of a Courbet, transformed into the visual language of Pollock. The picture does not need to be viewed as a marine, any more than Ferber's sculpture for the Milburn synagogue needs to be viewed as the Bush that was not consumed; but the title is not superimposed. It comes legitimately out of the picture itself, a kind of happy afterthought, in much the same spirit as the way Klee's pictures, we are told, got their titles from "christening parties" to which he invited his friends.

At the recent meeting of the College Art Association in Philadelphia, Herbert Ferber spoke informally but enthrallingly on these matters. Out of his remarks I got the impression that there was a fortunate coincidence between what the Milburn people wanted and what Ferber was doing at that particular moment in his career. (His show last year demonstrated that there were several Burning Bushes, though only one of them was so named.)

As in Kandinsky, so in Pollock the best works have an ultimate basis in landscape. Now, this relationship appears to be overt rather than merely implied. It is beginning to be clear once again that revolution is tradition reborn and reinterpreted. I have never put much stock in the claims of young artists—from the Futurists onward—that the past is a dead weight to be rejected at all costs. The lessons of Papa Cézanne, who adored Poussin, and of Delacroix, who adored Raphael almost as much as Rubens, should not be lost on us today. For it would be a hardy soul who could claim that the current novelties are as profoundly revolutionary, in the sense of remaking our visual world, as Cézanne or Delacroix were in their day, or Masaccio or Caravaggio in theirs. If Pollock turns out to be even half so revolutionary, we owe him a great debt.

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Theater

Harold Clurman

ONE is not sure whether to congratulate or commiserate with Ruth and Augustus Goetz for undertaking to dramatize Andre Gide's "The Immoralist" (Royale Theater). Congratulations are in order in view of the boldness of the task and the fact that, whatever the outcome, the play could certainly not be run-of-the-mill. But there is something misguided in the effort too, because Gide's story cannot be satisfactorily dramatized for our audiences.

To begin with, the theme of Gide's book is *not* homosexuality. (At the time it was written Gide had not yet publicly confessed himself.) Gide's aim was to make an oblique and somewhat "Nietzschean" statement to the effect that evil must have its day, and that in the light of the sun—that is, in the freedom of "nature"—the repressed instincts of man, which may include the homosexual and every other manner of forbidden impulse, will break the bonds of established codes and flourish wildly.

Michel, sick with bleak Protestant inhibitions, grows healthy in North Africa because he gives way to his "immoral" impulses—for example, complicity with crime—thereby killing his wife, sound and normal within the confines of her own religious and moral atmosphere but unable to withstand the heat and storm of the anarchic chaos which is the essence of life's natural texture.

Obviously, this daring and if you will perverse conception could not serve as an acceptable basis for a play to be produced on Broadway. Instead, the play asks us to regard the homosexual as an innocent person suffering from an aberration for which he is not responsible—this is an indirect plea for tolerance and understanding—and tries to universalize the problem by having Michel and his wife become reconciled to their marriage. She is about to bear his child, though he is unalterably homosexual, and they are reconciled on the ground that they love and respect each other and must compromise in this unfortunate situation as most "normal" people are obliged to do in others.

The play is thus rendered thoroughly "moral" but, in relation to the material derived from Gide, unconvincing, sentimental without being affecting, flat. Michel is never allowed to enjoy his homosexuality because this would be considered indecent by our theater audiences. He is constantly abject—apologizing, suffering, beating his breast, and protesting his fundamental uprightness. Rather than being an "immoralist," he remains a steadfastly wretched moralist. In this way the authors have unwittingly made the play not "tolerant" but unpleasantly forbearing.

The fault, however, is not so much the authors' as, so to speak, the audience's. It is nearly impossible to deal directly with the subject of homosexuality in the theater because the audience has no consistent attitude toward the subject. All sorts of reticences, prejudices, superstitions, pseudo-scientific notions, and ignorance beset the spectator, so that a dramatic author has the utmost difficulty in establishing a common ground from which the audience may view such a play

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with an intellectually and morally steady vision.

Another reason why plays on a homosexual theme are almost always basically false is that the theme as such is too general to make for anything but bathos or melodrama. In the theater there are only people and specific situations—not homosexuality! The homosexuality of a Leonardo da Vinci is not the same as that of a criminal delinquent. Homosexuality had not the same significance in ancient Greece, let us say, as in Berlin, 1920. Social classes as well as cultures change the aspect of the subject. Proust's Baron de Charlus, Leopold and Loeb, and certain eminent and esteemed figures in our arts and professions today are not to be regarded as the same kind of people because they all happen to fall into the homosexual category. Gide himself dealt with the problem quite differently twenty-five years after he wrote "The Immoralist."

Caught on the horns of all these dilemmas, the Goetzes' "Immoralist," though full of good intentions, is left artistically void. The production too, directed by Daniel Mann, though respectable, is hampered by the basic problems that invalidate the script. It is an intelligent and dignified production, but without any specific stamp. The cast is generally good. Louis Jourdan as Michel is excellent in type, handsome, sympathetic, and finely reserved, but the unilinear characterization of the writing reduces him to monotony. That unusual actress, Geraldine Page, miscast if we are to take her as a simple, sweet *jeune fille* of a small town in the Normandy of 1900, nevertheless provides the few creative and touching moments of the play—the scenes of her despair and hysteria at the discovery of her husband's anomaly.

"Lullaby" (Lyceum Theater) might be described as a comic-strip, Tenth Avenue version of "The Silver Cord." The author, Don Appell, has a certain talent for depicting raffish characters of the uneducated lower middle class, which was made evident in a much better but as yet unproduced play he wrote several years ago. The present play is more a sketch than anything else—rather conventional, not to say corny—with occasional glints of rough humor made serviceable for a brief evening's entertainment by the likable performances of Jack Warden, Kay Medford, and, in a slightly different, more studied, vein, Mary Boland. There is still an audience for such things in our theater, though one imagines one is going to find them only at shows in the summer resorts.

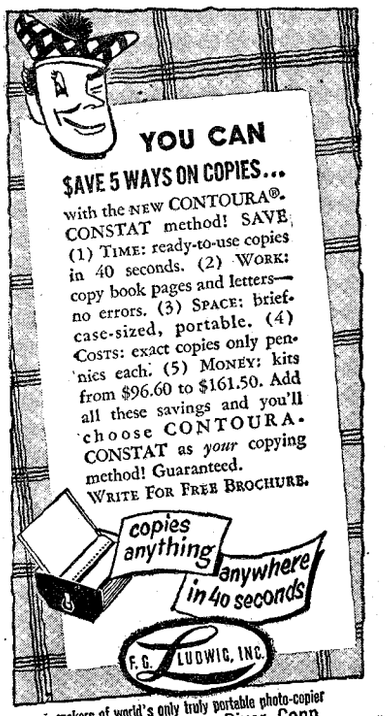
Music

B. H. Haggin

THE Metropolitan," wrote Virgil Thomson recently, "can produce beautiful performances and shocking ones in such unpredictable proportion that one is often tempted to consider the fine ones as accidental. Quality, of course, is never accidental; it can only come from planning, from organized effort. And yet . . . how can an establishment so elaborately organized for musical excellence fail so frequently to meet its own standards?"

One has had to ask similar questions about Thomson's critical performances. He has produced such shocking ones that one might have been tempted to consider the brilliant ones accidental, but quality in criticism is of course never accidental; it can come only from an equipment of critical perception; and one has to ask how an equipment capable of such critical excellence could fail so frequently to meet its own standards.

How, for example, does a man capable of Thomson's recent acute observations on the Metropolitan's absurdly inept new staging of "Don Giovanni," or the equally acute general observations I quoted at the beginning of this article—how does such a man write those articles in which at the very time Mr. Bing was negotiating for Stravinsky's "The Rake's Progress," and even after the negotiations had been completed, Thomson denounced Mr. Bing's reactionary policy of not producing new works? It is clear that in the one case Thomson's mind was in contact with, and operating on, the real facts before him, whereas in the other it was concerned not with real facts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but with others that existed only in his own head. (I described last fall the incident of Thomson's answering Downes's question about the relation of critic to composer with a letter about the setting of words in operatic declamation; and pointed out that this explained the articles and reviews that had no connection with the concert or book they were supposedly concerned with: Thomson, I said, writes about what is in his head at the moment).

And this also accounts in part for the difference between the sense Thomson has written about Mitropoulos and the nonsense he has written about Toscanini—in part, since in Toscanini's case Thomson has applied to the imagined facts general ideas with no more basis in reality (for example, the mumbo-jumbo in "The Musical Scene" about the marriage of historical and literary with musical culture in the Great Tradition of Wagner, von Bülow, Nikisch, and Beecham that is lacking in Toscanini's conducting). It is anyone's privilege not to like a Toscanini performance; but it must be a real Toscanini performance that he dislikes. It is wholly legitimate for some Germans to find the luminous clarity and grace of Toscanini's "Meistersinger" or his Brahms unsuitable to works they contend call rather for breadth and solidity: they are applying understandable and valid criteria to accurately heard performances. What Thomson has done for almost fourteen years has been to apply imaginary general truths to imaginary Toscanini performances. And it was a largely imaginary performance of "Un Ballo in Maschera" that he wrote about recently.

The singers, he reported correctly, "were not the grandest cast now available." But, he continued, "every one of them could have made a finer effect . . . if the Maestro had kept his orchestral accompaniments to a level of volume becoming to the voices he had himself chosen to honor." Instead, he contended, the intense dramatic excitement—the "almost circus-like showmanship"—of the orchestral performance made demands of volume and bravura which the singers couldn't meet; and whatever they may have sounded like on the radio, "in the hall they were pretty thoroughly overpowered" and "were obliged so consistently to force their volume that much of the singing I did hear was both ugly in sound and only approximate as to pitch."

I rate only NBC's press list of second-class critics who get tickets only on alternate weeks; but I happened to be in Carnegie Hall on the same day as Thomson for the broadcast of Act 1 of "Un Ballo"; and I am therefore in a position to give testimony about what was to be heard in the hall. As always one outstanding feature of the performance was the realization of the orchestral part—not merely the hair-raising power of the climaxes but the loveliness of tone, expressiveness of phrasing, and clarity of texture at other times; and as always this was the more outstanding since except for Claramae Turner the soloists "were not the grandest cast now available." But if the performance didn't offer the voices of Caruso, Destinn, Hempel, and Matzenauer, whom Toscanini had for his 1913 revival at the Metropolitan, it did offer the vocal parts sung well, phrased accurately, and integrated precisely with the orchestral part in a progression with unfailing continuity of impetus, tension, shape, and force. In the climaxes the singers were overpowered by the orchestral tuttis that have overpowered the singers in every performance everywhere; but in the lightly scored passages at other times—which is to say most of the time—the orchestral accompaniments were beautifully adjusted to the singing, whose every *piano* reached me at the back of the hall without the slightest forcing. If there were occasional unlovely vocal sounds and deviations from pitch it was because Virginia Haskins's soprano was dr and Robert Merrill's baritone has become rough and coarse and Herva Nelli simply doesn't always sing squarely on pitch.

There are other Verdi operas I would have preferred to hear conducted by Toscanini: the great melodic structures of "Il Trovatore," for example, are something I would give a lot to hear shaped and phrased and orchestrally supported by him. But I can understand his fondness for "Un Ballo in Maschera": in addition to some beautiful melodic invention for the singers—notably the love duet of Act 2—it has an active, skilfully scored, and effective orchestral part. And I am grateful for the experience Toscanini's performance of it provided.

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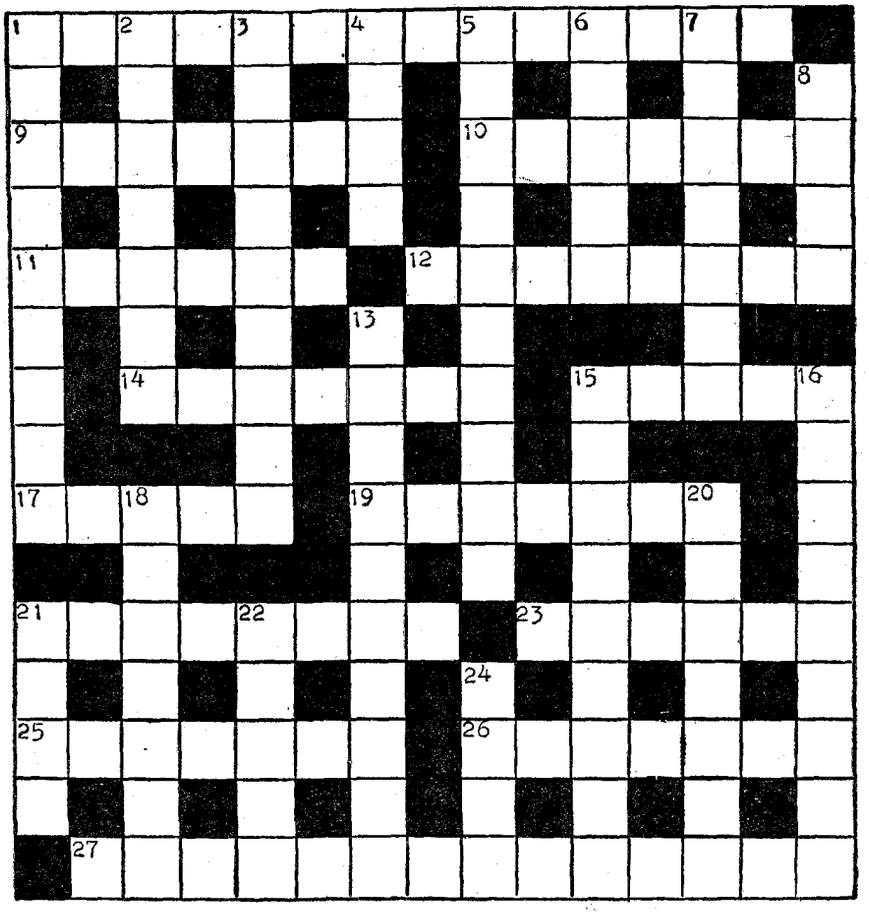
Crossword Puzzle No. 555

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 A good deal on the adding machine here? (7, 7)
9 This can be rather confining. (7)
10 No. 1 Volume returned. (A romance, no doubt!) (7)
11 "Yackety, yackety" to display two such feet. (6)
12 See 15 across.
14 She has a communist following, hence is cut short. (7)
15 and 12. Does a boot acquire polish through it? (5, 8)
17 and 24 down. The way to shake the boss is on the front page. (9)
19 Tool for the maximized worker? (7)
21 A ringer jumps, being used to getting tipped. (8)
23 Three choruses should give this sound over and over. (6)
25 Over-transformed in irrational pursuit. (7)
26 Enlightened, and exalted with a twist of the head. (7)
27 You're likely to leave such a board empty. (9, 5)

DOWN

1 and 21. Not a seer's skin game! (5, 4, 4)
2 Widows in a different environment? (7)
3 This series is of unsaturated aliphatic hydrocarbons. (9)
4 Faculty for detecting part of 24. (4)
5 In charge of a Yorkshire division? (Disregarding the alternative clue, of course.) (10)
6 Ruthless biblical combination. (5)
7 Panaceas. (7)
8 Agreeable and exclusive joiner? (4)
13 Drop the C. I. O. out of it! (10)
15 Not particularly outstanding in the replacement of bachelors? (3–6)
16 Agreement to learn the ropes at this? (9)
18 Bank deposits? (They were once in a fluid state.) (7)
20 In Germany I sort of wait about the city. (7)
21 See 1 down.
22 David, associated with live-stock trade (as Billy Bones might say). (5)
24 See 17 across.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 554

ACROSS:—1 and 17 DISTURBANCE OF THE PEACE; 10 MUTATES; 11 ALUMNUS; 12 STEEL PIER; 13 TOWER; 14 IMBIBE; 16 EMERGENT; 19 GO-GETTER; 20 GRIEVE; 22 PLAIN; 23 and 7 THE MIDDLE OF NOWHERE; 25 NOMINEE; 26 PLASTIC; 27 ONCE UPON A TIME.

DOWN:—2 and 22 IN THE PINK; 3 TOTAL ABSTINENCE; 4 RUSKIN; 5 ANAGRAMS; 6 COUNTERIRRITANT; 8 SMASHING; 9 USER; 15 BEGGARMAN; 18 SETTLE UP; 21 DEEPEN; 24 DATUM.

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"SANTA CLO COMES TO LA CUCHILLA." A famous Puerto Rican writer, never before published in the United States, Abelard Diaz Alfaro, has won the prize of the Institute of Literature. That he is unknown here is as much a shock to Puerto Ricans as it would be to us if they were to ask, "Who is Hemingway?" "Who is Faulkner?"

"Santa Clo" tells the story of an attempt to "Americanize" a village in Puerto Rico. It begins:

"Peyo Mercé had been teaching at the village of La Cuchilla for some twenty years, and he had no idea of what it was to get ahead in the world. . . . One day, just before Christmas, Mister Johnny Rosas, the new teacher, told Peyo, 'This village is a disgrace and backwards. We *must bring it up to date.* . . . Santa Clo will make his debut in La Cuchilla this year.'

Now Christmas came and the parents were invited to the school. In his schoolroom, Peyo offered the usual little fiesta. . . . Children sang. . . . The Three Kings made their appearance. . . . The village poet recited. . . . Peyo gave out sweet rice and candy, and the children exchanged their little gifts, so tiny and pitiful that they were called *eganitos,* little deceptions.

Then Peyo told his children to go into the other schoolroom where Mister Johnny had a surprise for them. . . ."

* * *

"THE HUNGER OF MANU ARAN." Here is the India of reality, portrayed by William Norton, a writer who spent many years there.

"Out in the street the sun was warm in the dust, and many more like himself moved slowly along. . . . The white *dhotis* they wore blended them together as they were crowded close in the narrow street, until the whole street was a moving bundle of rags. . . .

The shuffling crowd was nearing the district of the waterfront warehouses and *Manu Aran saw ahead the* barbed wire and the soldiers with their machine gun. They could go no further. . . .

They could only stand and look or cry out their pleading. The crowd slowed down and slowly swirled off to either side before the barricades. . . .

The soldiers smoked and talked easily to each other, but in their eyes were tiny specks of fear. . . ."

* * *

"ABOLITION FLYER." A Cantata form of verse and prose by Louis Lerman. A composer who viewed the proofs has already expressed his intention of setting it to music. Based on fact, this work tells the story of the Underground Railroad in the form of a fantasy.

"Storyteller: Days before the Civil War, they used to say. . . .

People: The Underground Railroad—that's Quaker Levi Coffin's road. He's president. Poor accommodations but cheap travelling. Goes from anywhere below the Mason-Dixon line . . . way up into Wendell Phillip's front parlor in Boston, Massachusetts. . . .

Storyteller: Never was
A train like that
A thousand miles
On a phantom track. . . .
And people coming
From miles around
To see that train
And to hear that song
And to ask if they couldn't
come along

Levi's road had glory
His road had fame
For every slaver
Cursed his name
But the road was poor
It lost mon—ey
Because Levi rode a hundred
thousand black men
free. . . ."

* * *

"GOD GAVE ME EIGHTY CENTS." By Jacques Barbicane. A story of any big city and a particularly bitter man.

"Any luck today, Dinny?" Houlihan asked, settling himself and drawing out a pipe. He was a tall, thin man, bulgy at unpredictable places, like a piece of putty some child had wrung between its fingers. His face was round and snub-nosed, with a clawing look of piety.

"There's little work on the docks, Houlihan," O'Mara said. . . . "It's like before the war. They're not hirin' steady." . . . Houlihan put his fingers together primly. . . . "I know it's bad," he agreed. "But you've got to put your trust in God. Dinny. . . . It's plain to all men that God acts in His own time and His own way. Waitin' and prayin's the only remedy for the world's ills. Father O'Clune himself said it to me."

"I remember him sayin' the same thing to Helen, eight years ago," O'Mara said mournfully.

"How is she?" Houlihan asked, with con-

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OF LITERARY STERILITY?

cern. "Did you drop in at the hospital again today, Dinny?"
"She's dyin', Houlihan," O'Mara said. "She won't last out the month. The doctor told me she's got no more lungs left than I have silk hats. . . ."

* * *

"THE MAN IN THE READING ROOM OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM." A major poem by a young American poet and playwright, Ettore Rella. A poem that cannot properly be sampled in any one piece or pieces, yet we do so, merely to offer you the flavor.

Talk about the house
that William Randolph Hearst
moved piece by piece from the stone
foundations of Europe—
it's nothing—nothing but a rich man's
dream
compared to the house I've got—

I can walk and walk and walk without
ever getting out of it—
In fact, there's NO getting out of it,
and I often wind up
down in the kitchen watching my neolithic
cook
pound the grain in her stone mortar . . .

oh the Roman room, the Roman room—
one great big splendid public bath
where all the marble is splashed with
blood
the showplace of the country cousin
who went into business—(Dallas,
Texas?) . . .

* * *

"THE BALLAD OF THE DOOR KEY CHILD." A poem on a truly contemporary theme, carefully simple in style. By Mildred Burgum.

I am a child
Who plays in the street
While my mother is working
To earn what we eat. . . .
Hung round my neck
On a string is the key
I let myself in
I make some tea

I play with my doll
I give her good care
I wash her clothes
I comb her hair

I tell her I'll get her
An ice cream cone
I tell her I'll never
Leave her alone. . . .

* * *

"WRITINGS AND WRITERS IN MEXICO." A Reportage on literary life in Mexico by James Wilson, who has just returned from 4 years there.
"The *corrido*, a literary form which Mexico imported from Spain and made its own, provides a link between intellectual and popular writing. It is a form of ballad which may be recited or may be sung. Among the people it still performs the function of a newspaper. A movie house burned down in the provincial city of Guadalajara, with loss of life. When I visited Guadalajara two days later, broadsheets of a *corrido* dealing with the fire were selling in the streets. . . .
The latest Mexican best seller illustrates yet another kind of *corrido*. Gaeciela Olmos, universally known as "La Bandida" (The Lady Bandit), and the madam of Mexico City's most exclusive brothel, took advantage of the recent change of president to make a bid for literary fame. She launched a book of twelve *corridos*, with music by herself, each devoted to a distinguished customer of her establishment and a political pillar of the late Alemán regime. . . ."

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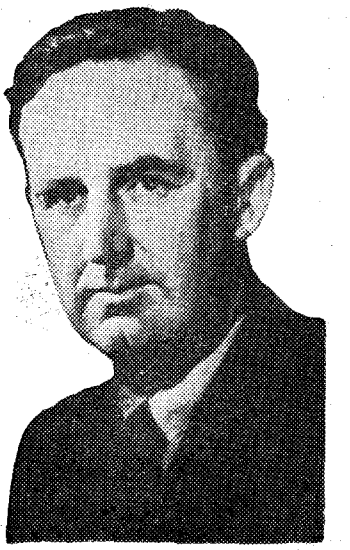

W. McMahon Ball

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Mr. Ball's "Japan: Enemy or Ally?" published by John Day under the auspices of the Institute for Pacific Relations, established him as one of the world's leading authorities on post-war Japan. "Undoubtedly the best critical study of the execution of occupation policy that has so far appeared," said the *Far Eastern Survey* of the book. The *Saturday Review of Literature* called it "essential reading for anyone trying to understand the boomerang qualities of United States policy in the Far East."

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